

Augustana's Eastern Division: Upsala College

by

Kim-Eric Williams

*I'm Upsala born and Upsala bred
And when I die, I'll be... Upsala dead
So, Upsee, Upsala, 'Sala,
Upsee, Upsala. 'Sala
Upsee, Upsala, We're for you.*

*Lutfisk, lutfisk,
Tack ska du har
All for Vikings*

”

This is about what I remember from a trip to a football game at Upsala by the Augustana New England Luther League about 1959. Even then, Tiny Carlson, who in reality was well over 6', explained that everyone could sing the first song but very few stood up for the Lutfisk cheer. It seemed funny at the time but of course it was prophetic of the shrinking number of Augustana youth who made their way to the urban campus of Upsala in East Orange, NJ. And I was one of them, accepted at Augustana, Upsala, and Muhlenberg, I choose Muhlenberg. Augustana was just too far from Massachusetts and the physical conditions, incomplete resources, and lack of facilities in East Orange were major reasons for me to go to Pennsylvania. However when I was at Muhlenberg, one of my professors fondly recalled beginning his teaching career at Upsala by saying, "I always liked the Augustana kids, they really stood out from the others" It is these "others" rather than some "others" that was one of causes of the school's closing in 1995.

In fact, the Augustana students became fewer and fewer. In the late 60's the college newspaper, the *Upsala Gazette* carried a humorous piece entitled, "Where are all the girls from Connecticut?" Beginning as an expression of new immigrants using the Swedish language it ended its life with no Swedish, and hardly any Church connections. A major cause of this was the demise of the Augustana Lutheran Church in 1962. Upsala lost the support of the New York Conference which stretched from New York state to Florida and had especially strong congregations in western New York and northwestern Pennsylvania. This poor trade meant that Upsala was given the New Jersey Synod, a relatively new jurisdiction with traditional ties to Wagner in Staten Island, NY and Muhlenberg in Allentown, PA. In addition the New Jersey suburbs are notorious for sending their students out-of-state. It was an ethnic, financial, and advertising loss from which the school would not recover, although they were allowed to keep their ties to an enlarged New England Synod. Neither did they recoup some of the loss when Hartwick College left the Church and the Upstate New York Synod declined to support any

college.

Upsala was never a narrow-minded denominationally authoritarian school. Although during its first fifty years, it was overwhelmingly Swedish, it admitted Jewish, Islamic, Roman Catholic and agnostic students from the beginning. Already in 1908, Doc Calman's history lists: "79 Swedes, 2 Finns, one Jew, one 'American', one Chinese, one Korean, and one Persian."¹ It was the first college to admit women in New Jersey. It was the first Lutheran college to admit black students. One African-American in the 20's gained entry to a medical school and against the odds became a doctor. In addition to compulsory chapel, there were sporting events, visiting lecturers, and musical presentations. It honored the sciences in the spirit of Linnaeus and Celsius and literature and history in the spirit of Tegner och Geijer. It was a place where feminism and socialism could be discussed and evaluated.

Much of this direction is due to the persistence and visionary leadership of Upsala's first president, Lars Herman Beck. "Father Beck" as he was affectionately known, refused a teaching position at Yale University, and resigned from Salem Church in Naugatuck, CT to become the *rektor* of an academy that existed only as a dream among Swedish immigrants to the East Coast.

The time was indeed ripe. The number of Swedish settlers in the United States climbed from 194,337 in 1880 to 574,625 by 1900.² The New York Conference had been founded in 1870 to care for the entire East Coast. An Orphanage was founded in Jamestown, NY in 1886. During the decade of the 1890's, 38 Augustana congregations were founded in New England, resulting in a New England Conference by 1912.³ Dr. Gustaf Nelsenius, distinguished home mission superintendent and bishop of the New York Conference had already organized new districts in Cleveland and Pittsburgh before Upsala was founded. In 1885 the Conference had discussed founding its own school and by 1887 had made the decision to found an institution in the East for the youth from the mill towns of New England, the industries of New York, and the mines, forests, and factories of Pennsylvania

1893 was indeed a significant year. In Sweden the 1593 Council of Uppsala was being celebrated and the Jubilee was continued in Rock Island with Bishop Kurt H.G. von Scheele and a delegation from the Church of Sweden. A coinciding 50th anniversary of the city of Chicago also brought many Swedish visitors to Illinois. In this year Tabor Church was organized in East Orange, NJ, later known as First Lutheran it became the college church. A statue of John Ericsson was placed in Battery Park on Manhattan, showing the pride of the local Swedish population. At the previous year's national Synod, the Women's' Missionary Society had been founded and now the Columbia Conference was organized for work in the Pacific Northwest. Into such a missional atmosphere

¹ Calman, Alvin. *Upsala College: The Early Years*. New York: Vantage Press, 1983. P.55.

² *Svenskarna I Amerika*, Volumes I and II, edited by Karl Hildenbrand and Axel Fredenholm. Stockholm:Historiska Förlaget, 1924, 1925. p. 349.

³ *50 Years in New England*. Luther E. Lindberg, editor."Sketches for the Family Album" by Evald Benjamin Lawson, p.12.

Upsala College was founded on the campus of Augustana College in Rock Island at the annual national Synod of the Church. The name honored the Council which pledged the Church of Sweden to the Augsburg Confession, rather than the University itself. As Lars Beck said, “The name itself of our school shall remind us of the joy of the Jubilee year, and the faith to which in 1593 our fathers were faithful in life and death.”⁴

It had a number of sister institutions: The Big Five: Augustana in Rock Island, IL Gustavus Adolphus in St. Peter, Minnesota, Bethany in Lindsborg, Kansas, and Luther Academy in Wahoo Nebraska. But there were also the now defunct Little Six: Martin Luther College in Chicago (1892), Minnesota College in St. Paul that at one time enrolled almost 800 students, and three more in Minnesota: Hope Academy in Moorhead, Northwestern College in Fergus Falls and North Star College in Warren. Plus Trinity in Round Rock, Texas.

It is remarkable how many educational institutions Augustana created. For as Vilhelm Berger remarked in his book, *Svensk-Amerikanska meditationer* (1916) the workers who immigrated to America were predestined in Sweden to remain lower class. Here the free air, the priests and the teachers changed them and made them interested in education and art.⁵ In fact the Augustana Synod had more students than all of the other members of the Lutheran General Council put together.⁶

Nor was *Fader* Beck about to repeat the mistakes of the Midwestern schools. He knew that Brooklyn, New York was estimated to be home for 40,000 Swedes and remarked. “The Conferences in the west complain because their schools are located in small towns. We shall not make the same mistake”⁷ Thus on October 3, 1893 classes opened in the old Bethlehem Lutheran Church in downtown Brooklyn- not far from the Academy of Music. By the end of the year there were 75 students in the “Upsala Läroverk.”

The next year the school moved into larger quarters at St. Paul’s Lutheran Church at 392 McDonough St. in Brooklyn where it remained for four years. The original faculty of five was increased to seven. All instruction was in Swedish but English was also required to fit the immigrants to their new home. Already in the summer of 1895 ten students found preaching positions and during the year 1894 five had been in charge of congregations. Such positions were also very helpful to the students in paying their expenses and were highly desired. The dedicated preaching of so many faculty members and students supported many fledgling Lutheran congregations in the New York metropolitan area. Over the years, Upsala reached out to assist many congregations that would have disbanded without Upsala’s active concern. The college campus was the scene for innumerable Luther League gatherings that provided inspiration for many youth

⁴ *Jubel-Album tillegnadt Augustana Synoden*. Edited by C.A. Swensson and L. G. Abrahamson. Chicago: National Publishing Co., 1893. Translation, Kim-Eric Williams, 2006.

⁵ *Svenskarna I Amerika*, Volume I, pp 331-332

⁶ J. Tellin in *Efter Femtio år in Korsbaneret, 1915*, edited by O. H. Ardahl, Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, p.277

⁷ *Jubel-Album*. p.167. Translation: Kim-Eric Williams, 2006.

to attend college. It hosted countless synod conventions and congregational study events

In 1898 the New Orange Industrial Association offered the college a fine site in Kenilworth, New Jersey, an undeveloped area between the towns of Cranford and Union. Consideration had been given to White Plains, NY, Stamford and Middletown, CT and even Jersey City. But the gift of free land and several thousand dollars made Kenilworth the choice of the Board of Trustees. Mention should be made here of the leadership of Dr. Gustaf Nelsenius, bishop of the New York Conference who chaired the Board and championed the cause of the school .

At first Upsala used a farmhouse at 20th Street and Kenilworth Boulevard but by May 20,1899, the cornerstone of Old Main had been laid. Here in a rural “exurb” that consisted of 40 farms, no electricity, water mains, gas, sidewalks, or a railroad, the college flourished. In 1903 it became a full college in the modern sense and in 1905 four students received their Bachelor degrees. Three other buildings were soon erected: a girls’ dormitory, “Crescendo Hall”, a Commercial Hall, and a gymnasium which had the first regulation basketball court of any private school in the state.⁸

In 1910 *Fader Beck* resigned and an Upsala graduate, Peter Froeberg became the second president. Pastor Froeberg had been pastor of Salem Church in Bridgeport, CT and was known for his enthusiasm and work with youth. Since 1907 he had served on the Board of Directors. The college continued to grow and a financial campaign raised \$30,000 that put the school on a solid base, getting help from the Scandia Life Insurance Company to forestall foreclosure. At times Froeberg had to personally secure bank loans to pay faculty salaries but he persevered and traveled constantly telling the Upsala story to congregations from Maine to Ohio. When he resigned, he became pastor of Bethesda (First) Church in Brocton, MA (the mother Swedish congregation in New England) and from there developed a Conference camping program that was hugely successful.

In 1920 the Rev. Dr. Carl Gustav Erickson, pastor of Zion Church in Portland, CT became the third president of the college. He was a genuine scholar and excellent administrator. He reorganized the curriculum and the faculty and led the New York and New England Conferences in raising \$465,000 to redevelop the school. It was the right time. New England had an estimated 67,000 Swedes and the other Eastern states in the New York Conference counted about 85,000. In southern New England, New York City and the Jersey suburbs alone, there were about 115,000 Swedes. Of course most of these were not members of Augustana congregations but they showed the potential for the school.⁹ They were centrally located for potential growth. Unlike the earlier agricultural immigrants to the Midwest, these immigrants were industrial workers. They had settled in cities, were often alone rather than with families, and had benefited from the basic education of the compulsory Swedish school system.

Thus in 1923 the campus of 45 acres in East Orange was purchased. It was a desirable location. East Orange was known as the “Fifth Avenue of New Jersey” because

⁸ cf. Calman, op.cit.

⁹ *Svenskarna I Amerika*, p.349, p.354.

of its upscale shopping. The campus was surrounded by large expensive housing and rail transportation was at hand to all points. The largest city in New Jersey, Newark, was adjacent. And Tabor Church was nearby. Enrollment grew from 300 students to 2,000 during World War II and then leveled off at 1,500.

In 1938 Evald Benjamin Lawson began a distinguished 27 year tenure as the fourth president. He had grown up in Brocton, MA with Peter Froeberg as his pastor and had served congregations in Pleasantville and White Plains, NY. He was president when the college grew the most in stature and in its physical plant. A master plan for the campus showed American colonial architecture with some Swedish baroque details. Beck Hall was completed in 1949, along with Bremer and Nelsenius residence halls. The basement unit of Christ Chapel was finished in 1954 and Viking Hall Gymnasium in 1956. The Froeberg residence halls were completed in 1958 and the Erickson Library in 1964. As one pastor noted, not only did Dr. Lawson represent Upsala, "He was Upsala". His close personal contact with the constituent synods made the bond between the school and church strong. His death on September 22, 1965 meant that the old order was passing and that the college was entering a new era.

The next president, The Rev. Dr Carl Fjellman (1966-76) had been the dean of the college, and had served on the faculty since 1947. Like Lawson he had graduated from Augustana College and Seminary but had then served Trinity Church in Alameda, CA before returning east for graduate studies at Drew University. His administration saw the final expansion of the campus with the completion of Puder Hall for the Sciences, and the Wahlström College Center in 1970. An Art Center was created in 1971 and a town house complex erected behind the Froeberg dormitories. The faculty was strengthened and became a cohesive and sustaining community. The Fjellman years in retrospect marked the high water mark in the school's history; a campus that offered complete facilities, an excellent faculty and a strong student body. A "Liaison Committee" that had been established under Lawson including faculty, trustees, and administrators, was now enlarged with student members. It helped to set the direction for the school. Upsala was considered the third best institution of higher education in the state- only exceeded by Princeton and Drew. But now difficulties began to arise. First dissension among the Board of Trustees led to a distrust of the faculty.

In 1967 terrible riots broke out in neighboring Newark caused by years of disenfranchisement of the African American population. The white population of Newark all but disappeared. Poor people moved into the East Orange neighborhood breaking up former one-family homes into multiple apartments, vacant lots and closed stores became common, crime increased. East Orange soon had the largest percentage of African-Americans of any large city in the nation. The College responded to this with the Timothy J. Still Program that enrolled hundreds of talented but economically stressed minority students. Upsala became the only Lutheran college with a majority of minority students. Before the advent of EOF and Pell grants the first funding came from the New Jersey Synod. In fact when the College closed, the multicultural statistics of the ELCA's colleges took a nose dive since none of the other colleges had attempted to enroll minorities in such large numbers. While this was an admirable direction for the college to

take, it was expensive and many local students could neither afford to pay nor were they prepared to do college work. The numbers of Lutheran students shrunk as suburban white parents observed an under-maintained campus in the middle of what had become a ghetto of Newark. This was the beginning of the end for Upsala.

The first layman to serve as President was Dr. Rodney O. Felder from 1976-1984. He had a background in education and public schools, with an EdD. from Columbia. He oversaw the addition of the Wirths Campus in Sussex County. This was a 247 acre plot had tremendous potential, but since it was in an isolated location, could not be developed into a campus without massive funds. Some programming did take place there yet funds to make it profitable were not forthcoming. However Upsala did establish one of the first "Black Studies" programs in New Jersey, provided a "Mornings at Upsala" initiative directed to women returning to college, and a "Writing Across the Curriculum" program that was a national model. Yet enrollment and standards declined and the tax base in East Orange continued to deteriorate. A painful situation developed when the college, because of infractions to the NCAA rules, was denied its Intercollegiate Athletic program; a very painful situation for an urban campus.

Felder was followed by a two-year inconsequential presidency of Dr. David E. Schramm. Dr. Schramm seemed unable to tackle or solve any of the dilemmas that the college faced.

The eighth president, the Rev. Dr. Robert Karsten, (1988-1994) worked diligently to save the school but the reality was overpowering. He was an ordained Lutheran pastor with extensive experience with church colleges, having been at Gustavus Adolphus, Wittenberg, and Capitol. The operating loss in 1988 had been \$1.5 M. plus a large accumulating deficit. In 1990 the student body had plummeted to 474. With the help of an incompetent California Consulting Firm he brought up the enrollment to over 1,000 by 1993. But these were often the wrong type of students to insure the future of the institution. Open Enrollment meant that many students who had academic promise were admitted but they also had few financial resources with which to pay the bills. The standards of the college were said to be improving but they were still admitting almost anyone who could qualify for federal financial aid. The dormitories suffered from lots of acting out, sometimes under the influence of drugs and alcohol. Few extracurricular activities could be funded. Students were observed sleeping in class and faculty were pressed to provide extra remedial help to students who were not prepared for college work.

There was breakdown of administrative systems with the introduction of one of the first computer systems of any private college in New Jersey. The "Ultimate" had been donated by an alumnus who wanted Upsala to be a showroom to sell his system. Unfortunately few versions of the Ultimate were sold and the company failed. Maintenance was impossible and a new expensive system, Colleague (Datatel) was purchased but it did not interface well with the old system leading to a sense of frustration and chaos. Karsten tried to bring in foreign students, notably from Korea and Jewish students from Russia, proposed new construction projects, championed a clean-up of the campus and generally tried to evince a positive attitude. The college attained more

balance with 30% Afro-American students, 30% white students, 20% Latino, and the remainder from over 90 other countries¹⁰. It was by far the most cosmopolitan campus in the ELCA. In the Spring of 1989 one professor had a Freshman Writing Seminar that included 16 students, all of whom had come out of the Basic Skills program: a Namibian, a Haitian, a Puerto Rican, a Jamaican, five African-Americans, an Irish-American, a Jew, and a Slovak” This diversity was replicated on a smaller scale without Basic Skills issues in advanced courses in Chemistry, Biology, Philosophy and English.

In fact a lot was accomplished in the last decades of the college’s life. As one professor remarked, “it was not just a dismal tale of dwindling resources and declining standards.”¹¹ One of the evaluators from the last Middle States evaluation team remarked that Upsala was doing what many colleges should do but didn’t have the courage to do. For some faculty “Basic Skills” became a very positive program of finding out the strengths on which a student could build. Some of the best and most creative faculty were involved. As Bishop Herluf Jensen of New Jersey counseled. “...don’t define the quality of education by the way the students come in, but by the way they go out.”

Unfortunately for the college, the *Star-Ledger* in Newark saw the economic weaknesses and began to expose the problems at hand. The Endowment had been borrowed against for years and now the principle was non-existent. The buildings were mortgaged to Essex County and the City of East Orange. The bishops positions on the Board of Trustees were eliminated in a bid to reach a wider local audience .But even an unsecured loan of \$836,000 from sister Lutheran colleges and agencies could not save the school. For the record we should say that the loan, which was never to be repaid, was given by Concordia, Gustavus Adolphus, St. Olof, California Lutheran, Lutheran Campus Ministry and the Mission Investment Fund.¹² Note that only one of her sister institutions is represented, and none of the her neighboring Lutheran institutions.

Feeble attempts were made at fund raising and no one seems to have been able to reach the many corporations and wealthy individuals that filled the suburbs. The 1993 Centennial passed with no observance beyond the campus and no mention of the promised massive \$25 M. Fund Drive. This was one of the signs to the constituency that disaster was immanent. Alumni giving was poor and became worse when it was disastrously reorganized. The potential of its alumni seems never to have been realized. The true conditions of the institution were never fully reported to the alumni, there were only rumors and innuendos. An odd final attempt to rescue the school was made by a Korean billionaire businessman, a Methodist not a Moonie, who offered to give the school several million dollars. This proved in the Spring of 1995 to be a pipe dream. No money was ever forthcoming. Neither did the State of New Jersey accept a bid to save the school with a loan of \$2.5 M. despite the pleas of the mayor of East Orange and two legislative representatives. Other attempts to interest Bill Cosby and Michael Milken in

¹⁰ The Rev. Dr. Charles Leonard, Dean of students in a personal interview, 2006.

¹¹ Dr. James H. Stam

¹² From a personal interview with former Trustee, Pastor Susan Nagle. The figure that has been reported publicly has varied from \$400,000- \$4 M.

the cause came too late.

Finally the Middle States Accrediting Association withdrew its accreditation because the College was unable to meet its bills. This would mean that no federal or state aid could be provided for the student body. No more Economic Opportunity students meant in fact no students at all. President Karsten resigned in the summer of 1994.

In the Fall of 1994 an experienced businessman, Dr. Paul V. DeLomba was called to manage the closing of the school. He convinced the Accreditors to keep the school open through the Spring semester so that the seniors could graduate. The already poorly compensated faculty had not been paid all summer and suffered even more cuts in salary during the last year. The condition of the dormitories became unspeakable, with broken doors, missing furniture, and deferred cleaning. On Ash Wednesday, March 1, 1995 the Board of Trustees voted to disband the school on May 31, 1995. The debt level was over \$13 Million, all funds had been exhausted and all buildings mortgaged. There was no hope of ever collecting the outstanding debts. The enrollment was 503 of which 272 resided on the deteriorating campus. Upsala declared bankruptcy, and the final papers are just now being completed.

East Orange today is still one of the poorest cities in America, with only Miami having a larger percentage of poor residents. It now has 70,000 inhabitants, 20,000 less than it did in 1950. The border between Newark and East Orange is all but invisible. The entire property was bought by the East Orange Board of Education, who retained the east side of the campus and sold the west side to the city of East Orange for \$1.00. The east side of Prospect Street still looks like Upsala and has become the campus for the East Orange Campus High School. The crumbling Old Main between Beck and Puder Halls has been removed and a large new matching red brick building with a central tower and connecting arcades now unites the two older buildings. The entire complex has been cleverly joined to Viking hall and a new Auditorium. The College Center has become the Wahlström Early Childhood Academy..

Across the street, the west side of the campus was allowed to deteriorate and then sold by the city for \$1.5 M last year. The buildings have been completely razed and will be developed as housing, now envisioned as 51 single family homes with 3-5 bedrooms and 17 townhouses with 3 bedrooms. The \$17 M. Development will be known as “The Woodlands at Upsala” Thus the name will remain and even the distinction between residential and academic that the Upsala campus had developed is continued. Our Tabor Church is still ministering, having cast off the name “First”, now with the name Holy Trinity Church, having absorbed a ULCA neighbor, its name and its funds. Its remarkable chancel windows designed by Upsala professor Hugo Lutz can still be appreciated as it struggles to do urban ministry.

The parallels with the nearby Lutheran colleges are instructive. Today neither Wagner, Muhlenberg, nor Gettysburg have more than a few Lutheran students. All have large, modern campuses in areas that are considered desirable. In all three, Jewish, Roman Catholic, and other Protestant students make up the vast majority of those

enrolled, and the contributions of the Lutheran synods are minuscule, and regularly reduced.. While they are still officially related to the Lutheran Church, none of them is in any way dependent on the church except for expected bequests and goodwill. None of them has a significant minority enrollment. In all of them the standards are stricter and the tuition higher every year. And all have experienced significant physical expansion.

One of the conclusions from all of this is that the church colleges of the past have already served their function in making it possible for immigrants to join the mainstream of American society. Having completed this task, their future lies not as parochial institutions, since Lutheran denominations' support for higher education will never revive, but as selective institutions of high quality and multi-state support. It is the colleges' task to find "other students" that can financially support and further their educational mission. It is one of the tasks which Upsala failed to do.

Another is that great teaching will not ensure the future of a school, only money will. Upsala had 85% of its faculty with PhD's and its teaching was uniformly outstanding. Its student-faculty ratio was an admirable 14:1. But mismanagement, administrative incompetence, and Board neglect of its oversight responsibilities, especially during the last fifteen years is inexcusable. It is also clear that today's college presidents need to be first of all experts in Development and Fund Raising and not academics or pastors.

The State of New Jersey could have saved Upsala. It had the resources. If we compare the millions of dollars invested in Montclair State, Bloomfield, the University of Medicine and Dentistry of NJ and Rutgers in Newark, it is clear that monies were available. Only the state is really able to finance education for the poor. The Church will say all the right things but will be unable to provide the resources. It happened with Temple University in Philadelphia. Located in a slum area, it became part of the state system and is thriving and has expanded significantly in the past twenty years. If it were still a Baptist school it would probably not exist. Talks with the State of New Jersey should have been on-going instead of a last-minute desperate attempt to survive.

Another factor that was detrimental to Upsala was the organizing by the State of New Jersey of a Department of Higher Education in the late 60's. All of the former "Teachers' Colleges" became liberal arts institutions with a full array of competitive majors offered at a much lower tuition. Although the same Department funded existing private colleges on a per-capita New Jersey-basis, the competition suddenly became stronger..

There are some ways in which Upsala continues to exist. There is a somnambulant web site, www.Upsala.org. There are the institutional records that are housed at the Swenson Center at Augustana College and the records of the New England and New York Conferences at the Lutheran Archives Center of the Northeast at the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia. There is the Upsala College Foundation that gives scholarships and provides some alumni contact. Upsala lives in the memory of the impression that Dag Hammarskjöld made in 1956, in the honorary degrees of alumnus

historian Carl Degler, and to Carl Sandberg and in absentia to Raoul Wallenberg. Among the early professors was Per Axel Rydberg who became a famed curator at the Bronx Botanical Garden. Gladys Grindeland spread a love for classical choral singing all across the East. Eskil Englund became the bishop of the New England Conference, and Oscar Benson became the Presiding Bishop of the Augustana Church.

And there is the Upsala ceremonial mace. Reportedly stolen by a Chemistry professor after the 1995 graduation, it remains to this day hidden with the faculty, whose struggles and victories were so cruelly dismissed by the Administration and the Trustees.

A 1968 graduate of Upsala, Susan Phillips Plese is a weekly columnist for the *Hartford Courant* and a retired professor at Manchester Community College. She wrote these words after the closing service on May 14, 1995.

“Upsala...lives in my style, the way I relate to my own students. I insist on excellence, as did my professors. My students adhere to my standards or they leave. I make no apologies. The best students I have are the best that (they) can possibly be... Yes, dollars are important. But soul is more so. A college may die for lack of money, but the gifts bestowed by its professors are not so easily eliminated.”¹³

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¹³ Copyright © *The Hartford Courant* as seen on www.upsala.org/op-ed_commencement.html.

